

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 SSO-00 USIE-00 NSCE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
TRSE-00 /063 W

-----042979 132313Z /75

O R 132155Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1500
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4714

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD NNA PACKAGE PAPER

REF: STATE 160346

1. WE HAVE DELAYED REPLYING TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST FOR ANALYSIS OF SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) PACKAGE PAPER BECAUSE WE WISHED TO HEAR INITIAL SOVIET COMMENTS ON ORGANIZATIONAL PORTION OF PAPER IN A FULL CSCE MEETING BEFORE DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ON OVERALL SOVIET POSITION. UNTIL TODAY WE WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD SEEK A NUMBER OF CHANGES IN THE PAPER, ESPECIALLY IN CONNECTION WITH RELATIONSHIP OF WORKING BODIES TO PLENARY, AND THAT THEY WOULD TAKE A FIRM POSITION ON THE NEED FOR AN AGREED CLOSING DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING. ON JULY 13, HOWEVER, SOVIET DEL HEAD VORONTSOV TOLD AMBASSADOR DURING PRIVATE CONVERSATION AT A GROUP LUNCHEON THAT
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HE COULD ACCEPT THE NNA PAPER IN ITS ENTIRETY, EXCEPT FOR ORGANIZATIONAL POINT 12, WHICH GIVES NNA'S COMPROMISE FORMULATION ON DURATION. AMBASSADOR DOUBLE-CHECKED HIS STATEMENT WITH VORONTSOV, AND ASKED IF HE COULD INFORM NATO CAUCUS OF SOVIET POSITION. VORONTSOV AGREED, AND WE INFORMED CAUCUS AND TOLD VORONTSOV WE HAD DONE SO.

2. WHILE VORONTSOV COULD STILL OFFER SOME WORD CHANGES ON THE RATIONALE THAT HIS ACCEPTANCE WOULD BE A GENERAL ONE, WE ARE INCLINED TO TAKE HIS STATEMENT AT FACE VALUE. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT, IF THE DESIDERATA OF OTHER DELEGATIONS CAN BE SATISFIED, THE ONLY SERIOUS REMAINING PROBLEMS WOULD BE DURATION AND THE POSSIBLE MALTESE PROPOSAL REPORTED IN BELGRADE 4646. THE MALTESE PROPOSAL, IF TABLED, WOULD BE A GENERAL PROBLEM WITH WHICH THE MEETING AS A WHOLE WOULD HAVE TO DEAL, AND ON WHICH WE AND THE SOVIETS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY AGREE. FOR THESE REASONS WE HAVE CONFINED OUR ANALYSIS IN THIS TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET ATTITUDE ON THE QUESTION OF DURATION.

3. THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO OBTAIN A FIXED TERMINATION DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING. MOSCOW FEARS THE CREATION OF AN OPEN-ENDED MEETING IN WHICH AN ENDLESS NUMBER OF SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLAINTS CAN BE BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. THEY ALSO WISH TO AVOID A BLACKMAIL-TYPE SITUATION AS WAS CREATED BY MALTA AT THE END OF THE CSCE ITSELF AND IN WHICH THE SOVIETS FELT HUMILIATED. THE ONLY FLEXIBILITY THEY HAVE MENTIONED THUS FAR ON THE DURATION ISSUE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A ONE OR TWO WEEK EXTENSION BEYOND A TARGET DATE TO PERMIT COMPLETION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT. THEY HAVE ALSO INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD PREFER A DATE IN EARLY 1978 RATHER THAN NO FIRM DATE AT ALL. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL BE VERY TOUGH ON THIS

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POINT, AND THAT VORONTSOV'S STATEMENT THAT HE CAN ACCEPT THE REST OF THE NNA PAPER MAY SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO TRADE AGREEMENT ON ALL OTHER MATTERS FOR A FIRM CLOSING DATE.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1501
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4714

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

THE SOVIETS FACE AN UPHILL FIGHT TO OBTAIN THE FIRM CLOSING DATE THEY WANT. DURING NATO DISCUSSIONS OF THIS POINT LAST SPRING, TWO ALLIES (FRG AND DENMARK) EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR A FIRM CLOSING DATE. THE DANES, IN FACT, WERE OBSTINATE ON THIS POINT, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE ALLIES FOUND A COMPROMISE FORMULATION OF A TARGET DATE PLUS CONSENSUS TO CLOSE. HOWEVER, THE NEUTRALS, NON-ALIGNED AND ROMANIA ALL STRONGLY FAVOR AN OPEN-ENDED MAIN MEETING. THEY HAVE OFFERED A COMPROMISE IN THEIR NNA PAPER, BUT ARE NOT PREPARED TO YIELD A FIRM CLOSING DATE. THE NNA AND NATO FORMULATIONS ARE VERY CLOSE AND AMOUNT TO A BROAD UNITED FRONT ON THIS ISSUE. THE MAJORITY OF THE ALLIES, AS WELL AS THE NNA GROUP AND ROMANIA, ALSO EXPECT THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A CONSENSUS TO CLOSE, WHICH IS A LOGICAL COROLLARY TO OUR OVERALL POSITION ON THE BELGRADE MEETING.

5. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT THERE ARE NO DELEGATIONS WHICH
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FAVOR A LONG MEETING. MOST RECOGNIZE HOWEVER THAT THE CSCE PROCESS, INVOLVING AS IT MUST UNCLEAR COMPROMISE LANGUAGE ON CRITICAL POINTS AND A CONSENSUS RULE, CAN BE TIED UP FOR CONSIDERABLE PERIODS BY DEFT MANEUVERING. THOSE WHO HAVE A NATIONAL AIM, BE IT A THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OR A NEW PROPOSAL, RECOGNIZE THAT THEY COULD BE SHUT OUT. YUGOSLAVS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE STRESSED NEED FOR OPEN-ENDED MEETING IF NEW PROPOSALS, WHICH WILL REQUIRE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, ARE TO BE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION. THE MALTESE SPECTER LOOMS IN THE BACKGROUND OF COURSE. WE BELIEVE HOWEVER THAT THE MALTESE TACTIC NEED NOT HAVE THE SAME MAJOR IMPACT THAT IT DID IN HELSINKI AND GENEVA SINCE NO SUMMIT IS INVOLVED.

6. THE SOVIETS HAVE CERTAINLY PERCEIVED THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF OPPOSITION TO THEIR DESIRE FOR A CLOSING DATE. THEY HAVE NOT YET EXPRESSED THEMSELVES ON THIS POINT IN

FULL CSCE SESSION, AND THEY AND THE POLES HAVE SUGGESTED PUTTING ASIDE DISCUSSION OF DURATION FOR THE TIME BEING. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY OTHER DELS THAT VORONTSOV IS RETURNING TO MOSCOW ON JULY 14 FOR 2-3 DAYS. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT HE WILL REPORT ON THE SITUATION HERE AND SEEK NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON DURATION, AS THE SINGLE IMPORTANT REMAINING ISSUE.

7. WE PLAN TO CONVEY INFORMALLY TO ALLIES, SOVIETS AND OTHERS THAT WE CAN ACCEPT AGENDA FORMULATION ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS PROVIDED THE REST OF THE NNA PACKAGE REMAINS VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED. SHOULD IT PROVE IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOVIETS TO ACCEPT PRESENT NNA COMPROMISE ON DURATION, WE PLAN TO ENCOURAGE NNA TO SEEK ANOTHER FORMULATION ON DURATION WHICH WILL RETAIN CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE CONCEPT WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT PRESUMPTION IS THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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MAIN MEETING CAN AND SHOULD COMPLETE ITS WORK IN ABOUT TWELVE WEEKS.
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Event:
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